

work that will develop the locals into well drilled, efficient fighting armies.

The second fundamental idea of the Lyceum is that this work should be done in such a way as to secure the greatest possible results for the energy expended. It requires a certain amount of energy to take a subscription for a Socialist paper or sell a Socialist book. It also takes a similar amount of energy to get a non-Socialist to attend a Socialist lecture. By combining the two operations we make it easier to accomplish both than it was before merely to succeed in one. In other words, the subscription lecture is a labor-saving device for our propaganda. We kill two birds with one stone.

There is the additional advantage that our literature is most effective when reinforced by the personal appeal of our speakers; while on the other hand, our lecturers' message will find its readiest response if the audience has already been set to thinking by our papers, books and pamphlets. The written and the spoken word combined with the personal work of the Local Comrades form the ideal propaganda.

The third fundamental of the Lyceum plan is that the same number of speakers can accomplish more working as one team than they can in disconnected lectures.

It is impossible for one speaker to cover the whole subject of Socialism satisfactorily in one evening's time. In a series of lectures a greater measure of justice may be done, especially if each lecture is delivered by some one well suited to his special part and if each speaker knows what the other speakers have said or will say and adapts himself so that each lecture supplements the others. This was one objective in planning the lecture courses, to secure even among our speakers the greatest possible amount of "team work." The first speaker was to present the problem, the second to go into our philosophy, the third to make clear the fact that there is a class war, the fourth to eliminate all other ways of dealing with the problem and the fifth to tell how Socialists meet it. The plan was to present our whole position logically and bring the audience step by step to the inevitable conclusion, Membership in the Socialist Party.

This plan was not altogether untried. Some of its essential features had been proven successful under different private auspices. The direct antecedent of the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau was the Chicago Daily Socialist Lecture Course, of which I was in charge. In spite of the fact that many mistakes were made and that financially the proposition was a failure, it was very much worth while as far as the Party was concerned, more than two thousand new members being brought into the organization through the work.

Many other papers have also conducted lectures along similar lines. Two or three papers having started in this work, competition forced others into it—they found the plan successful and within a year nearly every Socialist publisher would have been using it.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST LYCEUM ESTABLISHED.

Now, as long as there were only a few trying to route speakers, it did not cause much confusion in the Party work, but a score or more different agencies trying to make dates for speakers independently of each other would cause a confusion altogether unbearable. It would also mean a great waste in competitive advertising on the part of the different publishers to persuade the Locals to take up this proposition

or that one. It would mean a terrible waste of railroad fare in touring so many speakers back and forth across the country without plan or system.

According to our Socialist philosophy, such conditions in the commercial field bring out-throat competition, resulting in the strong gobbling up the weak; then the survivors, seeing the cost of their competitive war, get together in a "trust."

This same condition would have developed in the Socialist propaganda field; a central Lyceum Bureau would inevitably have grown up controlled by the strongest Socialist publishers. If such a central bureau, controlling practically all prominent Socialist speakers, had been allowed to grow up outside the party organization, it would have meant, to say the least, a dangerous concentration of power in the hands of individuals without corresponding responsibility to the party membership.

This was the condition that faced the National Executive Committee at its meeting in Boston on May 1st, 1911, when I laid before them the plan for the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau, to be established at National Headquarters under the control of the party. There were only three possible ways of meeting the situation:

1.—To do what some of the State Organizations tried to do; that is, to prohibit Locals from taking speakers routed on the subscription plan. This would have stopped the smaller papers from entering this line of work, but would not have prevented the more powerful ones from doing so, and would therefore have been manifestly unjust. Even if this could have been done, it would not have been desirable because the subscription lectures offered the best and most effective propaganda yet devised.

2.—To let the whole development go on to its logical conclusion. This would have meant within the near future a central Lyceum Bureau outside the party organization and party control that would have absorbed and assumed many of the functions that belong to the State and National offices.

3.—The only other alternative was the course that was pursued—the establishment of the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau. The fundamental object of this bureau, which must always be kept in mind, is to help build up the Socialist Party organization.

PROGRESS OF THE WORK.

It was decided to conduct the Bureau along the most liberal lines possible within the following limitations:

- (a) Every speaker to be a good standing party member.
- (b) The Lyceum Course to be placed only with locals in good standing and only with the consent of state officers.
- (c) Only periodicals controlled by good standing party members to be handled.

The first letter announcing the plans for the Bureau was sent to state secretaries on June 1. Beginning June 26, I put in all my time in the National Office, directing the Lyceum work. The response from state secretaries, locals, speakers and publishers was most gratifying, and on August 11, when the Executive Committee met in Milwaukee, I was able to report that only one state refused permission to the operation of the Lyceum; that most of the states were co-operating with a splendid spirit; that a sufficient list of speakers had expressed their willingness to serve on the Lyceum, and that the plans had met with enthusiastic response from a sufficient number of locals to guarantee a fair measure of success to the enterprise.

The Committee approved the plans as a whole. With their sanction the country was divided into four circuits and afterward the assignment of the speakers and subjects made substantially as follows:

LIST OF SUBJECTS.

1. How We Are Gouged.
2. Why Things Happen to Happen.
3. The War of the Classes.
4. The Trust Busters.
5. Socialists at Work.

LIST OF CIRCUITS AND SPEAKERS.

Eastern Circuit—64 Lecture Courses.

TERRITORY: New England, Atlantic Coast States and Pennsylvania.

SPEAKERS: 1. Charles Edward Russell, Janet Fenimore.
2. Walter J. Millard.
3. Ben F. Wilson, James H. Maurer.
4. John W. Slayton.
5. Lena Morrow Lewis.

Central Circuit—68 Lecture Courses.

TERRITORY: Michigan, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas.

SPEAKERS: 1. Arthur Brooks Baker.
2. W. Harry Spears.
3. Frank Bohn.
4. Phil H. Calkley.
5. A. W. Ricker, Walter J. Millard.

Western Circuit—85 Lecture Courses.

TERRITORY: Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma.

SPEAKERS: 1. W. F. Ries.
2. Ernest Untermann.
3. R. A. Maynard.
4. Milla Tupper Maynard.
5. Ralph Korngold.

Pacific Circuit—92 Lecture Courses.

TERRITORY: Montana, Idaho, Utah, Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado.

SPEAKERS: 1. Eugene Wood, Edward Adams Cantrell.
2. N. A. Richardson.
3. George D. Brewer.
4. May Wood-Simons, Anna A. Maley.
5. George H. Goebel.

The plans for the Lyceum also received the unanimous endorsement of the convention of Socialist Elected Officials Meeting in Milwaukee during the Executive Committee session.

According to these plans we issued special combination subscription tickets good for admission to the lectures and also for subscriptions to Socialist papers and books. A ticket to one lecture was attached to each 25 cent subscription and a ticket to all the lectures to each dollar subscription. The course of five lectures was offered the locals as a prize for selling \$300 worth of these combination subscriptions. In this way every worker could hustle for the publication that he liked best and the subscriber could get the one of his own choice with the lecture ticket. We paid the speakers' wages and expenses and furnished advertising matter. The locals got the collections and literature sales made at the meetings and a commission of 40 per cent on all the combination subscriptions sold above the \$300 requirement.

One good fortune deserves mention here. We discovered that Comrade Arthur Brooks Baker, who was to have worked as an advance organizer, was an expert printer. With

his help we published for the advertising appropriation of \$30 that we had allowed for each local, not only a much greater quantity of advertising matter than we had originally planned, but advertising matter of a much higher grade than we had hoped to produce.

Our plan included sending advance organizers to locals to make the preliminary arrangements. The following are the comrades selected for this work and the number of days that each one was in the field:

Arthur Brooks Baker	4
Thomas G. Beem	9
Frank Bohn	5
Prudence Stokes Brown	167
Edwin F. Cassidy	77
H. G. Creel	18
Leon Durocher	101
M. J. Hynes	115
W. B. Killingbeck	33
Anna A. Maley	12
Edward J. McGurty	21
H. C. Mestemaker	71
Ernest J. Moore	172
J. E. Snyder	105
Piet Vlag	9
Clyde J. Wright	68

Quite a number of locals that were not visited by field men took the offer up by mail; altogether 442 locals accepted the proposition and signed the agreement to sell at least \$300 worth of subscriptions for the Lyceum Course.

SHORTCOMINGS.

Before mentioning the results achieved through this work, I want to say that no one can realize more fully than those of us that were actively engaged in conducting it, how far it has fallen short of the possibilities, financially as well as in other ways. In no single detail is the work above criticism; in no detail has it been done as well as it should be done.

There are many reasons for this, some of which I want to mention, not as excuses but as explanations, in the hope that they will help increase the effectiveness of whatever may be undertaken in the future.

LACK OF EXPERIENCE.—Both we here in the office and the comrades in the field lacked experience. Much time and money was used for correspondence which would have been needless if we could have furnished locals and hustlers with printed instruction books, covering the different contingencies that would be likely to arise. In many ways we had to experiment. Now we know.

A LATE START.—The preliminary work was begun too late to get full results. In many cases it was impossible to get out the advertising as early as it should have been sent. Some of the locals did not have sufficient time to make their own advance arrangements and sell the subscriptions. Capitalist bureaus begin their preliminary work over a year in advance, and their local contracts are usually made several months in advance. We can not begin too early for the coming season.

SHORT FUNDS.—The Lyceum was greatly handicapped at the beginning by lack of funds. We could not carry on the right sort of advertising campaign and we could not put out enough advance organizers. Later, when we had plenty of money for these things, the season was too far advanced for the best work.

SHORT HELP.—In launching such a large enterprise, involving so much work in new fields, the Lyceum needed several men of force and initiative, capable of taking charge of the various departments, thinking out plans and putting them into execution. It is

not easy to secure Socialists possessing these qualifications so long as privately-owned publishing houses are glad to pay them much better salaries than the National Office is permitted to offer.

HIGH COST.—The Lyceum Course cost the locals too much. Many elements contributed to this high cost.

First—There was much waste, part of which was inevitable because of the difficulties incidental to the launching of any enterprise, but some of which might easily have been avoided had all concerned given their hearty co-operation.

Second—We were compelled to use expensive advertising, to compete with privately-owned Socialist publishing houses for the enlistment of the party workers and hustlers. This turning the attention and arousing the enthusiasm of the workers cost a great deal of money. We were at a decided disadvantage, as our competitors, with second-class postal rate and rapid-fire periodical issue reached the worker often and cheaply, while we could only talk to him at longer intervals and high expense.

Third—The experiments necessarily attending the building of a new business necessitated items of cost which will not be a permanent feature. For instance, now that the locals generally are familiar with the plans, it will not be necessary to repeat the pioneer work of sending out advance organizers, which this year cost nearly \$6,000.

Fourth—The business methods used, both by the Bureau and the locals, were so loose as to involve much unnecessary expense. We offered them a contract which was not sufficiently rigid; they accepted it because it was easy to sign, and in many cases did not even attempt to carry out their obligations. All the expense of advance work, correspondence, etc., with locals which failed to make good was necessarily shifted upon those that were able and willing to carry out their obligations.

Fifth—Because of inadequate preliminary work, the fixing of dates was done too late, and to accommodate locals which secured their halls at the eleventh hour the speakers were often obliged to "back track" at greatly increased mileage and expense. By working farther in advance, a more nearly perfect order of dating can be secured and the mileage greatly lessened.

Sixth—The same rush of work and lack of time caused unnecessary expense in routing the lecturers. Instead of each speaker beginning near his home, several were transported two thousand miles to the place of their first engagement, receiving wages and all expenses while en route.

Seventh—While the manufacturing cost of the advertising matter was low owing to the great quantities purchased, the results secured were at high cost. Owing to the rush of work, with insufficient help, many locals received their advertising too late to get its full value (even though we sent some of it by high-priced express). Many others, not having paid directly for the advertising, failed to appreciate its value and did not circulate it properly. In fact, from lecturers' reports, the advertising was properly and fully used only in exceptional cases. This was largely the fault of our office, in that while we gave full instructions, we had no system of constantly reminding and urging upon committees the necessity of circulating and posting their paper.

Another factor which decreased the results of the Lyceum and increased the cost per local over what it should have been, was the lack of co-operation of some of the state offices and the active hostility of certain individuals. Furthermore, some of the

papers that should have been enthusiastic in support of this plan to build up a better party organization remained silent. It was impossible to achieve the best results and the greatest economy without the publicity that similar enterprises conducted under private agencies had secured in the past.

All this meant for us an indirect expense of thousands of dollars so that instead of having a \$10,000.00 surplus we are coming out barely even financially. We must learn how to co-operate so as to do our party propaganda work with less waste.

Still another respect in which this year's Lyceum fell far short of the original plans is in the lecturers themselves. The fact is that the speakers did NOT do the desired team work. The lecture course was not altogether what we intended it should be: a connected series of lectures giving a logical presentation of the entire Socialist position. This was due partly to the fact that the individuality of most lecturers is abnormally developed so that it is hard for them to overcome the temptation to "star" rather than work as members of a team, but the main reason for this shortcoming was that because of lack of time any adequate interchange of ideas preliminary to the lecture tour was practically impossible.

A further criticism of this year's work can be made because contrary to original intentions some of the speakers peddled literature for their own profit. They should be excused since this has been the custom for Socialist speakers in the past who thereby increased a wage which seemed to them insufficient. We ourselves are to blame, since because of lack of time and lack of experienced help we had not worked out a systematic plan for handling the literature to be sold at the meetings.

But all the energy wasted here at the office and by the lecturers is insignificant when compared with the energy wasted by some of the locals as measured in their failure to make the most of their opportunities. Compared to what might have been done the results achieved are small indeed. Compared to our hopes and aspirations the Lyceum cannot yet be called a success, but it would not be just to weigh it in such a scale.

RESULTS.

In spite of all these mistakes and shortcomings; in spite of all disappointments, difficulties and obstacles, the following results were accomplished:

1—309 of the 442 locals that voted to take up the Lyceum Course carried it through, which means a total of 1,545 Lyceum lectures. The average audience at the Lyceum lectures was over 300. In addition to the Lyceum lectures 82 special lectures were given on open dates. The advance organizers had over 500 advertised meetings. The Lyceum work has brought together audiences totaling over five hundred thousand.

2—The number of subscriptions to Socialist papers forwarded to the publishers up to April 15th was 50,494. The number of cloth bound books sold on the Lyceum subscription cards was 18,000, while the number of paper bound books sold in this way was 24,735, making the total number of subscriptions for books and papers already forwarded to the publishers 93,229.

3—The reports from Lyceum locals indicate that in addition to all this literature sold on Lyceum subscriptions, the literature sales at the meetings averaged about \$10.00. The Lyceum has therefore already meant the distribution of about \$100,000.00 worth of Socialist papers and books, about one-half of the total being books.

4—Over 2,000,000 pieces of advertising matter were distributed. All of this was arranged so as to have the greatest possible propaganda value, especially the big 16 page folders, over 300,000 of which were used.

5—We have received clippings from capitalist papers totaling about 10,000 inches of reports of Lyceum lectures. In many ways this is the most valuable feature of the entire work, since the paragraphs quoted from the Lyceum lectures printed in the local capitalist papers reached a vast number of people to whom the message could not be carried by any other method. It would have cost the party many thousands of dollars to accomplish a similar amount of propaganda in other ways.

6—In some of the locals individual comrades found it necessary to dig into their own pockets to make up the amount due on the Lyceum Course, but reports show that other locals have made enough profit from the lectures to offset this.

7—A number of new locals have been organized by the Lyceum lecturers on open dates. Collections were taken up at many of the meetings for the benefit of strikers in different parts of the country, thousands of signatures were secured to the woman suffrage petition, and in many other ways the Lyceum was made use of to help along other party activities.

8—The records of the National Office show that the Lyceum work did not supplant activity in other lines, but that the locals working on the Lyceum Course at the same time ordered more than their proportion of leaflets for house to house distribution, pamphlets and other literature for sale. Reports from the locals also indicate that the Lyceum work did not decrease but rather augmented the demand for local speakers.

9—Specific reports received from a large number of the locals that had the Lyceum Course indicate that the work has brought into the party to date in those locals at least 10,000 new members. This means additional dues of \$6,000 per annum to the national treasury, \$6,000 to the state offices and \$18,000 to the locals concerned. It is of course true that other agitation preceding the Lyceum Course is largely responsible for the members so far brought in. On the other hand it is equally true that the full effects will not be felt for a long time to come, since the people whom the Lyceum has started studying this winter will only in exceptional instances join the party before next year.

10—A large number of locals that have had the Lyceum Course have been successful in their local elections this spring, and at least a few of them attribute their success at the polls directly to the general influence of the Lyceum work upon their community.

11—According to reports received from secretaries, the Lyceum has increased the working efficiency of nearly every local that took it up. It means a vastly more efficient campaign next fall than would otherwise have been possible. The fact that this has been carried through successfully will gradually get the comrades to more and more make use of the organization for doing their work. The experience gained through the Lyceum will be an invaluable asset to the locals for whatever they may undertake in the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

For the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of the work I made certain recommendations to the Executive Committee at its March session. In order to learn

the sentiment of the locals that had this year's Lyceum Course and to secure further data as a guide to future action, I submitted the same propositions to an advisory referendum of the Lyceum locals and the state secretaries of the 41 states in which the Lyceum was held. I am pleased to announce that of all these state secretaries only two voted against the continuation of the Lyceum and of the 182 locals whose advisory ballots we have received only one voted against it and 181 voted to continue the Lyceum, which is about as nearly unanimous as anything has ever been in the Socialist Party. (96 of these locals reported the number voting which was 1,893 yes and only 25 nays.)

We may be pardoned for feeling gratified with this splendid endorsement of the Lyceum plan on the part of comrades who out on the firing line have stood the brunt of the fight, and whose devotion to the cause and never-tiring work without hope of immediate personal reward has made possible whatever of success has been achieved.

Most of these recommendations are mere matters of administrative detail and should not properly take up any of the convention's time. Since, however, a general knowledge of the problems that confront the management of the Lyceum is essential to its greatest success, I herewith append the recommendations together with the vote thereon, the first figure in each case representing the vote of the locals and the second the vote of the state secretaries. I shall also add to each recommendation some of my reasons for making it.

1. That the Lyceum be continued next year with such changes as seem advisable.

Yes, 181 and 20; No, 1 and 2.

Comment:—There are four possible courses of action: (1) the entire work of arranging subscription lectures or Socialist lecture courses could be prohibited. No argument seems necessary on this point.

(2) This work could be left to the private agencies of Socialist publishers. The reasons that were given earlier in this report and that prevailed with the executive committees one year ago should be sufficient here.

(3) The work could be turned over entirely to the state offices. This does not seem to me a good plan since most of the state offices are in no way equipped to handle the details of such a proposition and even if all of them were so equipped it would mean in many ways a worse than useless duplication of effort. Much of the Lyceum work can be done as easily for the whole United States as for one state or even one local. It would mean applying to our own problems the logic of a Bryan, who would "Bust the Trust" and go back to the days of small-scale production.

(4) Let the Lyceum develop under national auspices, with the guidance of the Executive Committee and under the control of the party membership, in such ways as experience may teach to be wisest and best. This is my recommendation.

2. That the preliminary work start as soon as possible, but that the lecture course do not begin until after the fall election.

Yes, 176 and 18; No, 6 and 2.

Comment:—This past season we were behind the time all the time. The work was not started early enough. At least six months should elapse between the selection of speakers and the beginning of their lecture tours. I therefore recommend, that the preliminary work begin immediately.

I do not however, agree with some enthusiastic comrades who want the Lyceum lectures to run during the campaign. Most competent speakers are already engaged, and most state secretaries have already completed their plans for the fall campaign. Let us take advantage of every ounce of campaign enthusiasm for selling Lyceum subscriptions but, in order to avoid confusion and secure the best possible results, let us not start the lecturers themselves until after election.

3. That two lecture courses be arranged, one course of six numbers at \$300, another course of three numbers for \$150.

Yes, 174 and 19; No, 3 and 1.

Comment:—Since I made this recommendation Comrade Arthur Brooks Baker, the printing expert whose technical knowledge has already saved the National Office many thousands of dollars, has revised our estimates on advertising and printing costs. I have carefully gone over all the other figures in the light of last season's experience, and feel sure that if the recommendations made in this report are adopted, we can give the Lyceum Course of five lectures to every local that sells \$150.00 worth of subscriptions, instead of requiring \$300.00 worth as last season. I therefore recommend one lecture course of five numbers for \$150.00 worth of subscriptions.

4. That one of these numbers be an illustrated lecture.

Yes, 177 and 16; No, 2 and 3.

Comment:—There has been considerable demand for an illustrated lecture. I myself do not yet know as to the practicability of making one of the Lyceum lectures an illustrated lecture, and would like to hear from all who have experience on the subject.

5. That the Executive Committee put on the "Approved List" at least twice as many speakers as will be needed.

Yes, 173 and 18; No, 4 and 1.

Comment:—In filling vacancies this season, we could not consider the wants of comrades in states to be traversed, since the small approved list left the management so little choice. It may be that it would be impossible to find enough speakers to carry out this proposal literally, but there should be an approved list so large that we can at all times give due consideration to the special adaptability of speakers to subject and territory. Of course, no speakers will receive any pay except those actually employed.

6. That opinions on party tactics receive no consideration in the selection of speakers and that on the other hand the speakers be instructed not to dwell on these moot questions during their lectures.

Yes, 171 and 17; No, 9 and 4.

Comment:—The Lyceum should be above factional fights. We should select speakers not because of opinions on tactics, but only for their special qualifications as Lyceum lecturers. On the other hand, they should use their position, not to boost party factions but to teach undisputed fundamentals.

7. That speakers be paid a uniform flat rate of \$50 per week and railroad fare, and that they pay out of their \$50 their own hotel bills and incidentals, it being understood that \$28 of this is wages and \$22 personal expenses.

Yes, 167 and 11; No, 11 and 7.

Comment:—Under the Executive Committee's ruling that the constitutional limit of \$3 per day for organizers did not apply

to Lyceum lecturers, we paid them \$35 per week and railroad fare and personal expenses. Personal expense accounts of different speakers varied so greatly that it seems better to pay a flat rate and let them pay their expenses. This last season the speakers cost from \$55 to \$70 per week plus railroad fare. I now recommend that this be REDUCED to \$49 per week and R. R. fare, which would be just \$4 per day salary and \$3 for hotel and incidental expenses.

I certainly do not favor the fancy salaries that some are said to draw from our movement, but on the other hand I think our speakers should not feel compelled to eke out their incomes by peddling things for private profit as seems to have been the custom in the past, but should receive enough to keep themselves in good condition and care for their families.

If this conflicts with the constitution, then let's amend the constitution.

8. That party membership of at least three years' standing be required of Lyceum lecturers.

Yes, 147 and 19; No, 31 and 2.

Comment:—It may be that three years is rather long, but I am sure that the best interests of the movement demand that ambitious orators be "kept in pickle" at least two years.

9. That the maximum wage limit in the office be raised to equal that of the speakers.

Yes, 151 and 10; No, 21 and 5.

Comment:—At present the highest wage that can be paid to any office employee is \$21 per week. My recommendation is to raise this maximum limit to \$28 per week.

Different departments of the work should be in charge of specialists who are also in demand elsewhere. The inevitable effect of the present limitation is that some of the best brains in the movement are bought by private enterprises more or less indirectly connected with it, instead of being in the direct service of the party.

10. That I be permitted to scour the country for the best and most efficient persons for this work.

Yes, 174 and 19; No, 7 and 1.

Comment:—I do not wish to minimize the worth of private enterprises in advancing the Socialist movement. But to me the most important part of the work is that done directly through the party organization. I believe that our party should have in its service the most efficient machinery, the most efficient methods and the most efficient men that can be had. If I am to manage the Lyceum, I want permission to search for and secure the best persons for this work no matter where or by whom they may at present be employed.

11. That as much as possible of the work, especially the advance work, be turned over to State Offices, and that the State Offices be paid \$10 for each Local that makes good on the \$300 course, and \$5.00 for each Local that makes good on the \$150 course.

Yes, 162 and 17; No, 16 and 4.

Comment:—Most of the Lyceum work can be done so much cheaper and better from one central point that it would be ridiculous to divide it up among forty different State Offices. However, some of it, for instance the advance work, could in many cases be directed better by the State Secretaries, who know the Locals in their territory. There seems to be some opposition to turning this work over to the State Offices on the part of State Secretaries themselves, and I have come to the conclusion that it would be best to make

special arrangements only with those State Offices that may be able and willing to do this special work.

12. That the list of "approved speakers" be submitted to State Offices for their approval.

Yes, 169 and 18; No, 11 and 3.

Comment:—This merely means that no speakers shall be toured in a State whom the State does not want. It is very embarrassing to bring these matters up after arrangements have already been made. Under my plan dislikes could be discovered and taken into consideration before the speakers are assigned.

13. That publication of a series of special propaganda leaflets for Lyceum advertising be authorized.

Yes, 179 and 20; No, 1 and 1.

Comment:—I propose the publication of six special propaganda leaflets to fit the lecture course outline, two of the leaflets to be distributed house to house before the first lecture and one before each of the others, each leaflet to advertise the following lecture. In this way an immense amount of propaganda work will be accomplished in a systematic manner.

14. That the Lyceum Department be permitted to publish a weekly leaflet for "Party Boosters," this leaflet to be mailed under second class rates.

Yes, 176 and 18; No, 5 and 3.

Comment:—This year it cost \$100 postage to send a message to each of the 5,000 Lyceum hustlers. To send the same message in a leaflet under second class rates would have cost only fifty cents postage, a difference of \$99.50. If there were a party paper in which a column could be devoted to the Lyceum work, this leaflet would not be needed, but as it is the Lyceum is very much "hobbled." I believe that the party's Lyceum Bureau should have as good opportunity to encourage party builders to their best efforts as different private institutions now have to enthrone their respective supporters. This year's experience teaches that such a periodical is essential to the greatest success of this or any other party work.

15. That a report of this year's Lyceum Bureau, together with the plans for next year, be submitted to the National Convention for endorsement.

Yes, 176 and 21; No, 1 and 0.

Comment:—By this I do not mean to take up the time of this Convention with a discussion of these recommendations in detail. They are properly the work of administration, and the management should be left free to work out these problems as they present themselves, under the guidance of the National Secretary and the National Executive Committee. The Convention will probably not care to consume its time discussing details of the Lyceum management, but I shall be glad to receive personally all suggestions from individual delegates who have ideas on how to improve the work. The question, however, of stopping or continuing the Lyceum work is one that in my judgment should be decided by the Convention.

This past season every bit of progress made by the Lyceum has been made with all brakes set in certain quarters, which made the work exceedingly difficult. The Lyceum should either be stopped altogether or should have the united support of the entire party organization. The endorsement of the proposition as a whole on the part of this Convention would gain this the part of this Convention would gain this united support. I therefore recommended to the Executive Committee that the ques-

tion of continuing the Lyceum be referred to the Convention.

Some additional recommendations that in my opinion will greatly increase the effectiveness of the Lyceum work are the following:

16. That we select a series of books, appropriate for the different lecture subjects, and either publish them ourselves or buy them in large quantities. Lecturers and publishers should not exploit the Lyceum audiences for private profit. Literature sold at Lyceum lectures should be handled systematically through the Lyceum and the Locals.

Comment:—This recommendation I submitted in a letter to Lyceum Locals and received unanimous endorsement. I believe the best results would be obtained by selling, after each lecture, printed copies of the lecture itself. Comrade Baker, who has demonstrated with "The Growing Grocery Bill" that he can substantiate his printing estimates, tells me that if we publish the lectures ourselves we can retail them in the form of 32-page pamphlets at ten for a dime and still turn over 50 per cent of the selling price to the Locals. I recommend that all the Lyceum lectures be published.

On the back of each pamphlet could be stamped an announcement of the following lecture. The people who buy these pamphlets at one lecture will distribute them to their neighbors, and in that way not only do some excellent propaganda work, but also help to build up the audience for the next speaker.

17. That the publication of ten Socialist books, approximately the size of "What's So and What Isn't," be authorized for sale in connection with the Lyceum lectures.

Comment:—In no way can we facilitate the sale of Lyceum subscriptions more than by putting into concrete, visible, tangible form the best book offer ever presented to the public.

We now know that even without a National Print Shop, such as I hope will be established, we can print on our own account ten books, averaging 160 pages each, total 1,600 pages, and sell them together with a Lyceum ticket for fifty cents. To make this possible we would have to ship to the Locals direct by freight and get cash in advance from the Locals. But by placing in the hands of the hustler a set of paper covered volumes which the prospective customer could see and feel and weigh, we would be giving the Comrade Hustler a lever with which he would find it easy to pry loose the fifty-cent piece.

The ten books should be selected so as to cover the main elements of the Socialist Philosophy and their application to present day problems, following the same general outline as the leaflets and the lectures themselves.

18. That the \$3,000 advanced by the National Office last year to start the Lyceum be left in the Lyceum Fund for beginning this year's work.

Comment:—Even this sum is utterly inadequate to start the work upon the scale that it should be done. I believe, however, that by using our credit and getting the Locals to make advance payments the plans can be worked out to bring a sufficient income by the time the \$3,000 is spent to carry on this work. Next fall the \$3,000 could be returned to the National Treasury.

CONCLUSION.

If these recommendations are adopted by the Executive Committee and the Lyceum is endorsed by the Convention, we shall

make the following offer to the Locals:

A lecture course of five numbers to every Local that sells \$150 worth of subscriptions. Every 50-cent subscription will entitle the holder to admission to the entire course of five lectures and to a library of 10 Socialist books or a 50-cent subscription to any other Socialist books or papers whose publishers give a satisfactory rate to the Lyceum. This offer is the best that can be made until the party owns its own press and its own publishing plant, which I hope will be in the near future.

Under such an unprecedented offer even Locals in the smallest country towns could avail themselves of this great organizing campaign. Judging from this year's experience, two thousand Locals could make a success of this undertaking, necessitating 16 circuits with five speakers on each circuit. This would mean in round figures 80 lecturers, each filling 125 dates, a total of ten thousand Lyceum lectures for the season. It would mean the selling of at least four million Socialist books, and several hundred thousand subscriptions to Socialist papers. It would mean the circulation of ten million pamphlets and the distribution of thirty million propaganda leaflets. It

would mean that instead of our campaign relaxing after the National election this fall, it would increase in vigor and enthusiasm throughout the entire year.

I feel sure that these estimates can be surpassed with this Lyceum plan. It combines logically arranged series of lectures by specially trained speakers, carefully planned publicity campaign in the Capitalist press, publication and sale of specially prepared lecture pamphlets, publication and sale of a special library of ten strongest propaganda books, sale of subscriptions to all other Socialist papers and books, house to house distribution of a suitable series of propaganda leaflets, personal effort of every live member and co-operation of State Organizers, State Offices and the National.

It means co-ordinating all the different factors of our movement so as to get the greatest possible results for every ounce of our energy. It means the development of a great labor saving device to do our propaganda and organization work. It means **LESS FRICTION AND MORE POWER.**

Fraternally submitted,

L. E. KATTERFELD,
Manager.

APPENDIX N

Report of Representative Victor L. Berger, of the Fifth District of Wisconsin, as to His Activity.

The fall election of 1910 marked a new epoch in the history of the Socialist movement in America. A Socialist was elected to the Congress of the United States.

Naturally I considered it a great honor to be the first representative of the class conscious proletariat of America in the halls of our national legislature. But having been in the fight for the emancipation of the working class for almost a generation, I also at once realized the difficulty of my position. I was the only member of a much feared and much hated party in the lower House, with 391 other members of the House, and 96 Senators, absolutely and uncompromisingly opposed to me on all vital political and economic questions.

Moreover, our republic differs from all other republics known in the civilized world. The President of the United States is not only the chief executive and is elected by a general vote of all citizens—on account of his veto power he also forms a very important part of the national legislature.

Under our Constitution the real power of the House of Representatives lies in the fact that the House, being the so-called popular branch of the legislature, has the sole power to originate bills raising revenue—the Senate has only the power to amend a bill containing an appropriation, and cannot originate an appropriation.

Our Constitution was formed very much after the English form of government—as to the control of the treasury our House of Representatives was to resemble the House of Commons in England.

In our country, however, in practice this power of the House of Representatives is reduced to a shadow.

The shortness of the term of the members of the House when compared with the much longer term of the Senators, and the Senate's power over the patronage of the different districts very soon gave all the practical advantages to the Senate. The Senate today is really the ruling legislative body of our country.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that when our constitution was formed less than one-third of the male inhabitants were given the right to vote. The upper house of our national legislature was even created for the very purpose of representing "the wealth and invested interests of the country" as Alexander Hamilton put it—even against that third of the male population that could vote for it.

From the beginning of our government the Senate was intended to "form a check upon the will of the people." Therefore, its selection was removed from the people as far as possible and put in the hands of the respective legislatures.

Our reformers have been trying to remedy this by having the senators elected directly by the people. However, this so-

called remedy is only superficial. Even in a reformed Senate the 30,000 voters of Wyoming would have as many Senators as the two million voters of New York, which is absurd on the face of it, although the Senators of each state are elected directly by the people.

Moreover, the Senate is indefensible as a check against bad legislation. Either the Senate agrees to the legislation proposed by the Representatives of the people and then it is superfluous. Or it is opposed to the legislation of the Representatives of the people and then it is dangerous and undemocratic.

If there is any corrective to be provided in a democracy, let democracy provide for it. The best possible check upon any whimsical or hasty legislation is a referendum of the people. Abolish the Senate. The best cure for any ills of democracy is more democracy. I mention this only so that some of my bills should be understood.

The fact is that the Senate is the paramount power in the Congress of the United States and that as a body it represents best the power of capitalism.

The Senate has a small membership, and discussion in the Senate is unlimited; thus one senator with some powers of endurance may talk to death any bill which he opposes. The House has a very large membership and this has made it necessary to limit the right of the individual members to speak and to offer amendments from the floor.

The short intervals between elections of members of the House which makes many of them in a sense permanent candidates and the fact that most of them are lawyers and professional orators makes stringent rules obviously necessary to limit the output of oratory.

The proceedings of the two houses of Congress are supposed to be published verbatim in the Congressional Record. Therefore, the custom has grown up of printing speeches that have never been delivered on the floor. And this is a wise custom owing to the temptation of the members to impress themselves upon their constituents at home by making speeches in Congress.

As it is, the constructive work amounts to very little. Our system of government by checks and balances—the ideal of the American bourgeois—and the antiquated constitution have resulted in the fact that not a single great and important measure has passed our Congress in thirty years, unless we consider tariff bills and the Sherman anti-trust act as great and important measures.

Moreover, both houses of Congress are practically made up of the same type of men. Wealth was always held in great respect in our country. When our government was formed George Washington was

chosen the first president not only on account of his merits, but also because he was the richest man in America.

The majority of the members of Congress belong to what I would call the upper middle class. Capitalism as a whole is of course excellently represented—especially the railroads, the manufacturers, the banks and similar interests. Yet there are even large groups within the capitalist class of America that are not over-well represented. An overwhelming majority of both houses is made up of lawyers. There are quite a number of business men and manufacturers, and I also want to say in connection with this, that these men are not dishonest or crooked as is often claimed. They are as a rule honest to the class and the interest they represent, only they do not represent our class, nor our class interest.

As everybody knows there are a few workmen in the House of Representatives—about half a dozen so-called card men—men with union cards in their pockets. They do in no way, however, differ from the other representatives of the capitalist parties in their votes, argumentation or method of thinking.

Practically all the work of Congress and of the House of Representatives is done in the committees. There is hardly any possibility of rejecting a bill that is proposed by the ruling party in the House of Representatives. Of course the bills are discussed in the committee of the whole and smaller amendments are occasionally agreed to. But as a rule, the Democrats will vote absolutely with the Democratic leaders and the Republicans with the Republican leaders, and every one knows beforehand what the fate of the bill is going to be when it is once reported to the House.

There is no such thing as an adverse or unfavorable report in the House. A bill reported always means favorably reported by the majority of the committee. If the minority disagrees it can make a minority report. Of the many thousand bills introduced only very few are reported.

Of the nearly 40,000 bills introduced in the preceding Congress, only 700 became law—the great majority of these were administrative acts of small importance to the country in general. Besides these, Congress passed about 6,000 private pension bills.

Such are the parliamentary conditions that confronted your first Socialist Congressman. They are as unfavorable to any new departure as they can possibly be, and yet some people expected wonderful things. It is no exaggeration to say that not only the eyes of the Socialist Party, but the attention of the entire American people, as far as it gave any attention to the doings of Congress, were riveted upon me.

I could not afford to do or say anything that would make one cause and one party ridiculous before the many millions that are not yet with us. There was no precedent in the experience of any other party in our country to guide me, because ours was essentially a two-party country in the past—the People's party never got a real first hold in Congress.

In Germany they always had many parties and three Social Democrats were elected right from the beginning to the Reichstag in 1867, so that was no criterion to go by. Our parliamentarism is of an entirely different makeup. It is based upon the two-party system. The appointment for the committees, where all the real legislative work is done, and even the assignment of the time for the debate is on a two-party basis.

There were two ways before me. I could make a free-speech fight all alone, try to break down all precedent and all barriers, speak about the coming revolution and the co-operative commonwealth, as long as my lung power would hold out, and wind up my short parliamentary career by being suspended from the House, and thus also make an end to political action by this "direct action."

Or I could pursue the other course, obey all rules and precedents of the House until they are changed—get the respect and the attention of my fellow members, speak sparingly and only when measures directly concerning the working-class are up for discussion, giving, however, close attention to all the business before the House of Representatives. This latter course I decided to follow—and this I did follow from the very beginning.

Owing to the unique position I held, however, I was from the beginning called upon to do a greater variety of things than any other Congressman in Washington.

Not only did my correspondence grow to such enormous proportions that it kept three secretaries busy, although only about three per cent of this correspondence came from my district. But the answering of these letters was only one part of that work. I was also considered a court of last resort for a great number of men and women who had real or imaginary grievances, against our government and our federal courts, or even against state governments and state courts. Moreover, I was the recipient of requests for investigations of all kinds in the various departments of our government, and of course was asked to protect numerous immigrants all over the country who were either to be sent back to Europe or were refused admission for various reasons, some of them being political refugees.

In each and all cases I did examine the evidence and the circumstances, and wherever there was even the slightest chance of making good on the case, I took it up with the respective departments. And I succeeded in very numerous instances.

I take pleasure in stating I was treated with uniform civility by the government and I am especially indebted to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Hon. Charles Nagel, an otherwise very conservative gentleman, who went as far as the existing law would permit him, in helping me with immigrant cases, his office allowing him considerable discretion in the matter.

The work of the departments was exceedingly laborious, and took a great deal of time, not only of myself, but also of my helpmates in the office. On this occasion I want to acknowledge my appreciation of the very valuable services of my secretary and comrade, Wm. J. Ghent, not only in answering letters, but in helping me to frame bills.

In the framing and introducing of bills embodying the demands of the platforms of the Socialist Party of America and of the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, I saw one of my most important duties—because thus I gave expression to the concrete demands as well as to the hopes and ambitions of my class. As to my votes in the House I tried to follow strictly not only the letter but the spirit of our platform.

I may divide my work on general lines in legislative activities, work before committees, and departmental activities.

The following are some of the more important facts, some of them very big, some of them very small—just as life is made up of big and small things. All of them

will convey the idea, however, that I always tried to fulfill my duty as the "congressman at large" at the disposal of the working class of America.

BEFORE COMMITTEES.

1911.

MAY—

11. Appeared before House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service and spoke in favor of the Lloyd bill to give Government employees the right to organize and petition Congress.

29. Before House Committee on Rules and made a statement in favor of an investigation of the kidnapping of the McNamara brothers. Also conducted the examination of witnesses during hearing.

1912.

JANUARY—

17. Again before House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service in advocacy of a favorable report on the Lloyd bill.

MARCH—

1. Before House Committee on Rules to conduct the hearing on my resolution to investigate the Lawrence strike.

4. Before House Committee on Library to advocate the reporting of a bill to establish a legislative division of the Library of Congress.

16. I was then in Milwaukee but a statement which I had prepared in advocacy of woman suffrage was read by Comrade Elsie Cole Phillips before House Committee on Judiciary.

MAY—

4. Before House Committee on Immigration to express my opposition to the Root amendment to the immigration bill, providing for the deportation of political refugees.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES.

1911.

APRIL—

22. Introduced a petition containing 87,600 signatures, calling upon Congress to withdraw the United States troops from the Mexican border.

JUNE—

14. Delivered my first speech in advocacy of a reduction of the tariff on wool.

AUGUST—

7. Made a speech in favor of general old age pensions.

DECEMBER—

14. Introduced my old age pension bill as an amendment to the then pending appropriation bill. Made a speech in its favor, but the amendment was ruled out on a point of order.

15. Addressed the House in favor of the bill providing for the eight-hour day on all Government contract work.

1912.

JANUARY—

13. Made a short speech, pointing out that the insurgents could not claim separate recognition as long as they were part and parcel of the old parties.

14. Called the attention of the House to the fact that the Democratic appropriation bill for the District of Columbia contained only starvation wages for some of the employees, some getting as low as \$240 a year.

17. Again addressed the House on the above subject and offered an amendment to raise the wages but failed.

18. Advocated the establishment of a municipal asphalt plant for the District of Columbia.

29. Showed, in a short speech in the discussion of tariff bill, that labor is never protected by tariffs.

FEBRUARY—

23. Interposed in the personal debate between Representatives Hay and Hobson, and suggested that the House had better investigate the problem of unemployment rather than to elect committee to settle personal differences.

28. Addressed the House in favor of an investigation of the Lawrence outrages.

MARCH—

4. In a short speech denounced the provisions for low wages for laborers employed in the Department of Agriculture.

APRIL—

19. Made a short speech and offered an amendment in favor of the automatic promotion of all postal employees from the \$1,100 grade to the \$1,200 grade. My amendment was defeated by vote of 45 to 33.

26. Spoke in favor of a woman suffrage clause in the charter for territorial government given to Alaska.

MAY—

1. Made an address and introduced an amendment in favor of permitting postal employees to use stools for at least two hours a day. This amendment was defeated by a vote of 55 to 36.

3. Made a short speech against the amendment to the post office appropriation bill requiring newspapers to print weekly a list of all their stockholders. This amendment would have proved a great hardship to Socialist and labor papers, which are owned by a great number of individuals and organizations. The House defeated that amendment and instead passed one requiring that only the names of those persons owning more than \$550 worth of stock shall be printed.

DEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITIES.

1911.

JUNE—

29. Took up with the Department of Justice the unjust imprisonment of Matthew H. Lough, an engineer of the Panama Railroad. He was arrested as a result of an unavoidable accident on the road. After some correspondence he was released.

JULY—

1. Called upon the Post Office Department to permit mail carriers in warm weather to wear blouses. The Department has modified its position in this matter to a great extent.

7. Called upon the Post Office Department to facilitate the application of the California Social Democrat for the second class mail privilege. Request granted.

2. Through some correspondence with the War Department, Charles S. Glimblin, a youthful deserter of the Pacific Coast Artillery, was freed.

27. Called on President Taft to free Albert Dewey Carter, a twelve-year-old boy, who had been convicted of embezzling a money-order while employed as a postal messenger in Texas. Although he was below working age and the blame being, therefore, on the Government, Carter has not yet been freed.

AUGUST—

10. Took up with the Department of Commerce and Labor the case of Theodore Malkoff, a political refugee, who was detained at Ellis Island. The Department admitted him.

11. Took up the case of Dr. H. C. Barkman, of Washington, who was denied citizenship papers because of his belief in Socialism. The matter is still pending.

DECEMBER—

15. Took up case of Zolai Marcus, another refugee. He was also admitted into this country.

1912.

MARCH—

1. Called on President Taft to order an investigation of the Lawrence outrages. The Department of Justice was instructed to take up the matter.

APRIL—

18. Department of Commerce and Labor, at my request, took the same action in regard to The Russian refugees, Fitel Kagan and Vasily Lachatachoff, who had escaped from Siberia and were denied admission by Tacoma, Washington, immigration authorities, under the pretext that they were Anarchists. The decision was reversed and both admitted.

VOTED FOR

Campaign publicity bill.

Canadian reciprocity.

Farmers' free list bill.

To admit Arizona with "recall."

To reduce tariff on steel, wool and cotton.

Against the Russian treaty.

So much for the first year of the first Socialist Congressman in America.

I have tried to do my duty fearlessly, faithfully, to the best of my light. You always want to keep before you that I was only one man with work enough for 300 Congressmen and 60 Senators and a President of the United States; that I was not only alone, but I had to hew my path through this "wilderness" and had to overcome mountains of prejudice and a sea of ill will. I believe that I have cleared a modest path on which other comrades can join me which we can widen and which will finally wind up in a clear road for Socialism and the emancipation of the working class as far as the legislative halls of our nation are concerned.

It is for you, comrades, and for the working class to elect the many who will accomplish this.

VICTOR L. BERGER.

APPENDIX O

Reports of Foreign Speaking Organizations.

REPORT OF THE FINNISH TRANSLATOR-SECRETARY TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1912.

To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

The organizing of the Finns into the Socialist Party was mainly begun in 1902 and 1903, and during the years following there were scores of Finnish locals and branches organized. But the movement was weak until our present form of national organization, composed of all Finnish locals and branches of the Socialist Party, was started in 1906 and the translator's office established at the party's national headquarters beginning with the year 1907. At the beginning there were fifty-three branches in the organization with membership of about 2,000. With this small but promising group of units and members our organization was then heartily recognized by the Socialist Party, through its national executive committee and national secretary, and a space for our translator in the national headquarters was arranged for. Of course, we had to have our own office fixtures, pay rent for the space and compensate our translator-secretary, but the simple recognition and the moral and advisory aid given to us by the Socialist Party was of great help to our organization when added to the praiseworthy enthusiasm in the rank and file. From May, 1908, we have had the office space free, and from October, 1910, the translator's wages have been paid by the national office. The continuous growth of our organization will be best seen by the following figures as shown by the records in the translator's office. The average paid-up membership per month and the number of locals in good standing at the end of each year respectively has been as follows:

No. of locals at the end of year.....	133
No. of locals at the end of year.....	160
No. of locals at the end of year.....	180
No. of locals at the end of year.....	173
No. of locals at the end of year.....	217
No. of locals at the end of April.....	223

The figures showing the financial transaction of the translator's office during the same period are as follows:

In 1907—Total receipts, \$7,329.52; receipts for party dues, \$4,128.36. Total expenditures, \$6,545.45; for state and national dues, \$3,570.13.

In 1908—Total receipts, \$10,069.82; receipts for party dues, \$4,770.45. Total expenditures, \$9,964.74; for national dues, \$1,939.40; state dues, \$2,121.09.

In 1909—Total receipts, \$15,645.94; receipts for party dues, \$6,087.00. Total expenditures, \$15,208.79; national dues, \$2,476.10; state dues, \$2,862.63.

In 1910—Total receipts, \$18,836.34; receipts for party dues, \$8,332.25. Total expenditures, \$18,824.89; national dues, \$3,539.50; state dues, \$4,135.89.

In 1911—Total receipts, \$20,646.46; receipts for dues, \$9,469.52. Total expenditures, \$19,578.56; national dues, \$4,604.80; state dues, \$4,755.55.

In 1912 (up to and including April 30)—Total receipts, \$11,315.06; receipts for dues, \$4,087.80. Total expenditures, \$9,902.57; national dues, \$1,993.70; state dues, \$2,094.10.

Besides the receipts and disbursements for party dues the financial transactions consist mainly of the following: Special monthly assessment of 5 cents per member, collected for agitation and organization purposes, which has been permanent during the whole life of our organization and which is required from every affiliated branch; special assessments and donations for the Finnish College; special yearly assessments to our convention fund, and contributions to Finland's socialist and trade union movements; for Russia revolutionists; for the general strike in Sweden (\$1,369.73 in 1909), and for every strike, labor controversy, special election fund, etc., in this country, for which a call for funds has been issued among the socialists. The total amount, collected as assessments for the College during the years 1909, 1911 and 1912 up to April 30, has been \$6,073.79. The next highest sum collected through our organization during 1908, 1910, 1911 and 1912 has been for the socialist movement in Finland, a total of \$4,622.92. To our call for statistics about the activities and conditions of the Finnish locals, during and at the end of last year, 185 of the 217 locals answered. According to the answers of these 185 locals, the following data is given:

The membership of these locals on December 31, 1911, was: Paid up to date,

1907.....	membership, 2,928
1908.....	membership, 3,960
1909.....	membership, 5,384
1910.....	membership, 7,767
1911.....	membership, 9,139
1912 aver. for 4 months, membership, 11,483	

8,332; total in the books, 13,391, of which 9,138 were men and 3,755 women. Members of labor unions, 2,317; naturalized citizens, 1,635, and 2,234 having the first papers.

Business meetings held during the year, 4,346; propaganda meetings, 2,128; entertainments, etc., 3,233.

Sub-committees: 83 agitation committees, 12 women's committees, 106 show committees, 22 singing societies, 28 brass bands, 89 sewing clubs and 53 gymnastic clubs.

Lecture courses were held in 39 locals, for a total time of 58½ weeks and the combined attendance has been 4,576 per-

sons. Schools for English in 21 locals for 615 pupils.

Locals own 19 libraries with 10,061 volumes. Besides there are 62 libraries, with 20,419 volumes, which are not owned by locals, but by all the Finns in each locality and in most cases are controlled and managed by Socialists.

Approximate amount of literature and papers distributed free, \$2,436.19.

Approximate amount of literature and papers sold, \$22,644.70.

Total receipts for the year, \$193,569.47; expenditures, \$180,922.50.

Sixty-three of the locals own real estate or hall buildings, or both, with a total valuation of \$313,365.11. Total value of shares of stock and bonds to the college and different publishing companies, etc., \$55,118.00. Total value of all property belonging to these locals, \$550,751.00. Debts to individual members and real estate sellers, \$232,084.98. Net resources of all the locals combined, \$323,964.41.

Approximate Finnish population, men, women and children, in the localities where these party locals exist is 108,323.

The actual paid-up membership of the Finnish locals and branches of the Socialist Party is well over 10,000. The number of Finnish locals in good standing is 223, which are located in 28 states, as follows: Arizona 1, California 6, Colorado 2, Connecticut 1, Florida 1, Idaho 3, Illinois 5, Indiana 2, Maine 5, Massachusetts 17, Michigan 26, Minnesota 43, Montana 10, Nevada 3, New Hampshire 7, New Jersey 3, New York 6, North Dakota 2, Ohio 11, Oregon 3, Pennsylvania 10, Rhode Island 1, Utah 2, Vermont 3, Washington 16, West Virginia 2, Wisconsin 17, Wyoming 10. With the exception of Connecticut, Florida, New York and Rhode Island and the large cities in California, Ohio and Oregon, the Finnish locals and branches in these states have had the right to buy their party dues stamps from the translator. The state organizations of Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Wisconsin and Wyoming have already allowed the Finnish branches the requested 50 per cent rebate on state dues, but not always on local dues: California, Montana, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington and West Virginia are allowing some rebate, and the rest of the states do not allow any at all.

The agitation and organization work is being carried on by the eastern, middle and western district committees, which were organized after the plan decided upon at our Hancock convention in 1909. Every district is routing a permanent organizer and special organizers occasionally. While, on account of language difficulties, our work is and has been more of an educational propaganda, still we are trying to take part in the political affairs as well. Our locals are bound, by the prevailing resolution of Hancock convention, to participate in the affairs of their county and city organization as much as possible, and every effort is being made in the way of urging our members to become American citizens. At least three special organizers will be put in the field during the coming campaign.

The Finnish Socialists of the United States have had three national conventions. The first one was held at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1904; the second one at Hibbing, Minn., in 1906, and the third at Hancock, Mich., in 1909. The welfare of the Socialistic activity among the Finns in this country, the plans of work for our national organiza-

woman's paper, "Toveritar," at Astoria, and its relations to the Socialist Party have been the most important matters for discussion at the conventions. The Socialist Party has had a representative at every one of these conventions. Our next convention will be held June 1, 1912, at Duluth, Minn., and most likely it will be not less of importance than any of the previous conventions. One of the propositions that will come under discussion is the taking over of our papers and publishing houses into the ownership of the organization.

The Socialist papers in the United States, published in the Finnish language, are:

"Työmies," a daily, published at Hancock, Mich., circulation of about 12,000; "Raivaaja," a daily, published at Fitchburg, Mass., circulation over 6,000; "Toveri," a tri-weekly, but will appear as a daily on and after July 1, published at Astoria, Ore., circulation around 4,000; a weekly, has been in existence since July of last year and already has a circulation of over 2,000. A monthly magazine, named "Säkeniä," is also published at Fitchburg, Mass., and a comic semi-monthly paper, "Lapatossu," at Hancock, Mich. Besides these, there is "Työkansa," published at Port Arthur, Ont., Canada, heretofore a tri-weekly, but by May 1 will be a daily, which is widely circulated among and gets a considerable part of its support from the Finns in the United States. The papers are owned by stock companies, in which the Finnish locals as well as individual Socialists are the shareholders. Työmies and Raivaaja both own their buildings, convenient for printing and publishing the Socialist message which they have been doing in the most valuable manner.

"Työväen Opisto" (The Working People's College), with its school building and other accommodations at Smithville, Minn., is also owned and controlled by the Finnish Socialists and Socialist locals. This institution is being conducted on the same lines and for the same purposes as workers' universities in European countries. The common school subjects are taught, special stress being put upon the study of the English language, and lectures are given on Socialism and economic subjects. The attendance in the school has been increasing every year. The tuition has been made as low as possible in order to give an opportunity for a greater number of people to attend. Heretofore the school has been maintained mainly by special assessments and voluntary donations by the locals of our organization, and methods for its support in the future will be discussed at our next convention as well as at the annual meeting of the College stockholders, which will be held after the adjournment of our convention.

As seen by the figures above published, the Finnish Socialists have always been lavish in their support of the movement in the old country. From time to time we have sent over financial aid for the political and educational campaigns of the Socialist Party of Finland. This has not been done for the love of the "fatherland," nor for the purpose of keeping our nationality alive or to simply save the so-called state autonomy of Finland. At least a great majority of us have had a deeper interest in the matter—have had the aim of international Socialism in mind and have given help to that part of the globe where suppression is more felt and where, on the other hand, our cause at present has a considerably strong foothold. It is the fight against Russian autocracy, which for a decade and a half has used every effort

to bring in reaction in the place of the advanced education and ever-increasing interest in Socialism in Finland, in which we are taking part. We are in this fight with the struggling proletariat of Russia, and we know that only in the victory of the Socialists in Russia lies the victory of the Socialists in Finland. Before the victory is won, the struggle may become more pressing, and the time may come when you—the delegates to this convention—and your constituents will be asked to do your utmost in the way directed in the resolution on Finland adopted at the last International Socialist Congress.

In conclusion I take the liberty to make a few suggestions regarding the matters concerning our organization as well as the other foreign-speaking organizations in the American Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party should do everything in its power to organize the so-called foreigners—all kinds of them—as it is the only probable way to prevent them from lowering the American standard of living. The same help should be given to every nationality in order to prevent the capitalist class from using the unorganized and yet unawakened nationalities against others that happen to be organized and are trying to better their conditions. Agitators should be sent to speak to them in their own language and the organization of all non-English speaking Socialists should be given all possible forward push. The provisions for conducting the work of national non-English speaking organizations should be made a part of the national constitution and such part of the constitution made imperative to all state and local organizations, without regard to any state autonomy, as the welfare of these organizations affects the national party as a whole. The provisions in the present constitution have been of good help for non-English speaking organizations, but some modifications in them should be made. It should be strictly provided that only one national organization of the same language shall be admitted or recognized by the Socialist Party; branches of non-English speaking organizations should belong to the national party only on the condition that they also belong to their respective state organizations; the non-English speaking organizations should not be compelled to come under the jurisdiction of the county and city organizations, but in political campaigns and conventions for political purposes they should have equal standing with the rest (this provision has been successfully practiced in the state of Washington, for instance); an allowance of a certain amount, say 50 per cent, of the state and local dues should be granted for use in agitation and organization work by such organizations; for the present the non-English speaking branches, no matter in what state or county they are located, should have the privilege of buying their party dues stamps from their respective national translator-secretaries.

The more you help the foreigners to organize, the sooner they cease to be foreigners. When, in the course of time, the National Finnish Organization will be no more a necessity, the moral spirit and the material holdings, which then will be left to the Socialist Party, will be worth receiving.

Fraternally submitted,
J. W. SARLUND, Translator-Secretary.

REPORT OF SOUTH SLAVIC SECTION. To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

At the Joint Convention of the South Slavic nationalities, which was held at Chicago on July 3 and 4, 1910, it was decided that they form a South Slavic Socialist Federation, which should affiliate with the Socialist Party of the United States, and that the new organization should begin January, 1911.

The South Slavic Socialist Federation includes the following nationalities: Slovenians, Croatians and Servians. The Federation was organized in the latter part of December, 1910, and it affiliated itself with the Socialist Party in the early part of January, 1911, in accordance with Article XII of the National Constitution.

At the time of affiliation the Federation had 36 active locals, as follows: Chicago, 5; La Salle, Ill., 1; Glencoe, Ohio, 1; N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa., 1; E. S. Pittsburgh, Pa., 1; Conemaugh, Pa., 1; Johnstown, Pa., 1; Milwaukee, Wis., 2; Forest City, Pa., 1; Kenosha, Wis., 1; Sygan, Pa., 1; St. Louis, Mo., 1; Clairton, Pa., 1; E. Youngstown, Ohio, 1; S. Sharon, Pa., 1; Kansas City, Kan., 1; Chisholm, Minn., 1; Indianapolis, Ind., 1; Pullman, Ill., 1; Hegewich, Ill., 1; Neff, Ohio, 1; Cleveland, Ohio, 1; Roslyn, Wash., 1; Seattle, Wash., 1; Breezy Hill, Kan., 1; West Mineral, Kan., 1; W. Newton, Pa., 1; New York, N. Y., 1; Frontenac, Kan., 1; W. Allis, Wis., 1, and E. Palestine, Ohio, 1.

The 36 locals had at that time a membership of 635, of which were—

Croatians	340
Slovenians	250
Servians	45
Total	635

Of these 36 locals, the following were affiliated with the State and County organizations: Two in Chicago, 1 in Pittsburgh, 1 in South Sharon, 1 in Clairton, 2 in Milwaukee, 1 in Kenosha, 1 in Sygan, 1 in Conemaugh. Total, 10, with a membership of 120.

All the 635 members (with exception of 22 in Cleveland) expressed the wish to buy the dues stamps from the South Slavic Socialist Federation. The Executive Committee has tried to bring each local into State and County organizations wherever the foreign organization received a rebate on County and State dues. The Executive Committee could not force the locals which were in districts where the rebate was not allowed to join the County and State organizations. According to the view of the Executive Committee and of the members of the Federation it is not the fault of the foreign branches that they are not affiliated with the County and State organizations, but in many cases it is the fault of the respective State and County offices.

From January 1, 1911, to December 31, 1911, there were 30 new locals organized with over 800 members. At the close of 1911 there were 58 active locals in the field with a membership of 1,266.

Eight locals lapsed during the year for various reasons.

The discontinued locals were Chicago Women's branch, on account of merging with the men's local; Kansas City, Kan., on account of the neglect of the Secretary; Seattle, Wash., on account of unemployment; Hackett, Pa., on account of closing of mine; Pullman, Ill., on account of unemployment; Hegewich, Ill., on account of unemployment; Joliet, Ill., on account of members leaving town; Johnstown, Pa., on account of neglect of the Secretary.

The locals admitted to the Federation, according to months, were:

January	2
February	2
March	4
April	2
May	4
June	1
July	0
August	3
September	5
October	4
November	1
December	2
Total	30

Six hundred dollars was paid during the year to the National Office for dues stamps, an average of 1,055 dues stamps per month. On December 31, 1911, there were 1,266 members in good standing. Of these were—

Slovenians	607
Croatians	558
Servians	101
Total	1,266

During the year the locals paid the following amounts to the South Slavic Socialist Federation:

For the National Committee, party dues, at 5c	\$ 590.70
For the South Slavic Central Committee, at 5c	253.38
For the National Central Committee, at 3c	378.59
For Special dues, at 5c	229.44
For Membership books, at 2c	44.58
Total	\$1,495.69

The National Committees received \$319.15 out of \$378.59, as follows:

Slovenian Central Committee	\$156.39
Croatian Central Committee	137.35
Servian Central Committee	25.42
Total	\$319.15

As some reports of the locals were not definite on the question of nationalities, the Executive Committee could not apportion \$59.44 to the respective National Committees and the sum was given over to the Federation.

AGITATION.

There were held 58 public meetings under the auspices of the South Slavic Socialist Federation. The meetings were held in the following cities: Indianapolis, Ind.; Detroit, Mich.; South Sharon, Pa.; N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.; Monessen, Pa.; S. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.; Barberton, Ohio; Clairton, Pa.; Chisholm, Minn.; E. Pittsburgh, Pa.; Waukegan, Ill.; La Salle, Ill.; Sygan, Pa.; Kenosha, Wis.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Gary, Ind.; Hammond, Ind.; Pullman, Ill.; Chicago, Ill., and E. Youngstown, Ohio.

The Executive Committee has held 15 meetings during the year and considered 145 matters.

The Executive Committee proposes to have the best Socialist speakers of Austria during the present fall campaign at its service. The speakers will be under the direction of the South Slavic Socialist Federation and will tour the United States during the coming September and October.

FINANCIAL REPORT.

Financial report of the South Slavic Socialist Federation, from January 1, 1911, till December 31, 1911:

Total Receipts	\$1,833.58
Total Expenditures	1,621.36
Cash on hand, Dec. 31, 1911	\$ 212.23
Special fund (to be deducted)	229.44
Deficit for the year	\$ 17.21

LOCAL ACTIVITIES.

There are at present—March 31, 1912—the following locals which are affiliated with the County and State organizations:

Chicago, Ill.	5
N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa.	1
La Salle, Ill.	1
Conemaugh, Pa.	1
Milwaukee, Wis.	1
Kenosha, Wis.	2
E. Pittsburgh, Pa.	1
Sygan, Pa.	1
Cleveland, Ohio	1
Frontenac, Kan.	1
W. Allis, Wis.	1
Collinwood, Ohio	1
Indianapolis, Ind.	1
Detroit, Mich.	2
Virdein, Ill.	1
Waukegan, Ill.	1
Oglesby, Ill.	1
Panama, Ill.	1
East St. Louis, Ill.	1
Livingston, Ill.	1
Springfield, Ill.	1
Total	27

Union members	340
American citizens	201
Public meetings held by locals	58
Singing Societies and Tamburicza Clubs	21

Paid to Counties and States	\$ 239.67
Paid for arrangements of public buildings by locals	493.67
Paid for maintenance of singing and tamburiczas	947.47
Paid for rent, light and furniture	1,322.42
Paid for books, stationery, buttons, etc.	1,968.27
Collection for the party press	620.18
For political campaigns and strikes collected	309.77
Grand total receipts	8,662.88
Grand total expenditures	7,538.23

Cash on hand, Dec. 31, 1911, by all locals	\$1,124.65
Property value of all locals	3,537.77

PRINTING AND PARTY ORGANS.

The organs of the South Slavic Socialist Federation are "Proletarec" for the Slovenians, "Radnicka Straza" for the Croatians and "Narodni Glas" (The People's Voice) for the Servians. The first two named are weeklies, the last one a semi-monthly paper.

The South Slavic Federation has also established a co-operative printery with a view of building up a plant where the organs and party literature could be printed. The establishment is incorporated under the Illinois State law for \$1,000.00 as capital stock, with the view of increasing it to \$10,000. The shares are \$10.00 each and can be sold to the Socialist locals, individual members and also to locals of various fraternal societies who are in sympathy with the Socialist movement.

From January 1, 1912, to March 31, 1912, further progress was made. The March report indicates that there was an increase of 8 locals with 140 members.

The financial report of these three months is as follows:

Balance on hand January 1, 1912	\$ 212.23
Receipts for this period	638.93

Total receipts	\$ 851.16
Total expenditures for this period	391.44

Cash on hand March 31, 1912	\$ 459.72
Special fund for campaign speaker	405.61

Balance March 31, 1912	\$ 54.11
Due to Central Committees for January, February and March, 3c for each member:	
To Slovenian Central Committee	\$ 60.57
To Croatian Central Committee	34.74
To Servian Central Committee	11.79

Total due	\$ 107.10
Balance on hand	54.11

Deficit	\$ 52.99
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Fraternally submitted,
FRANK PETRICH, Translator-Secretary.

REPORT OF ITALIAN SECTION.

To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

The activity of the Italians in the Socialist Party began in the latter part of the year 1908, after a tour through the country, made by Comrade G. Bertelli, under the auspices of the National Office.

With the closing of the presidential campaign of that year the Socialist Party counted about 40 Italian branches. Very few were the Italian branches affiliated with the party before the year 1908.

In the following year, 1909, a movement was started by the New York branches to organize all the Italian branches of the party into a national organization in order to carry on the Socialist propaganda among the Italian immigrants. A convention was called in West Hoboken, N. J., for that purpose, but it had failed in its very beginning and nothing concrete could be accomplished.

A year after the West Hoboken, N. J., convention, December, 1910, with the consent of the National Office, the Italian Section was formally organized with about twenty branches, less than half of the total Italian branches affiliated with the party in that time, for the other branches did not fully realize the necessity of such an organization.

From December, 1910 till October, 1911, twenty-two branches joined the Section, but in the same period of time fourteen branches disbanded.

When I took the office as Translator-Secretary September, 1911, the Section consisted of twenty-eight branches with less than 660 members, although the translator-secretary was in communication with more than twenty other Italian branches directly connected with the party.

In the last seven months (September, 1911 to April 15, 1912) seventeen new branches were organized and eight branches joined while eight have disbanded, leaving a total of forty-four branches alive and in good standing, scattered in the following states:

Illinois	14
New York	14
New Jersey	14
Pennsylvania	4
Massachusetts	3
Wisconsin	3
Vermont	2
Florida	1
Colorado	1

These have a total membership of 1,200. Italian branches of the party not affiliated with our Section, but in communication with the Translator-Secretary, can be

found in the following states: Pennsylvania, 6; Montana, 1; Illinois, 6; Michigan, 2; New Jersey, 3; Indiana, 1.

Italian members of the party can also be found in all the mining districts, especially in the states of Illinois, Michigan and Pennsylvania, where the party branches are mixed of different nationalities and also in many industrial centers.

The Socialist sentiment is very strong among the Italian workers in this country, and it will be only a matter of time to have a strong Italian organization, which will no doubt be able to accomplish its mission in organizing and educating the Italian workers in this country without the assistance of the party.

PARTY PRESS.

Our press consists of three weekly papers: "La Parola Dei Socialisti," official organ, published in Chicago, Illinois, with an average circulation of three thousand copies. "La Placcola," published in Buffalo, N. Y., with 1,500 copies circulation weekly. "La Fiamma," published in Camden, N. J., with two thousand copies circulation.

The latter two weeklies will be combined in the near future, following a resolution passed at the interstate convention held in Schenectady, N. Y., April 7 and 8, 1912.

The New York branches and vicinity are working to establish a weekly paper of their own.

ORAL PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZERS.

From October, 1911, to April, 1912, about 120 lectures have been delivered by A. Cravetto, as a special organizer, in a three months' tour, and by G. Corti, A. Caroti, S. Bonfiglio and G. Bertelli. The states covered were Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, Kansas and New Jersey.

For the coming national campaign we have secured as a speaker one of the best orators and propagandists on the Italian platform, Comrade Miss A. Balabanoff, who will be in this country in the middle of May for a four months' tour.

At the same time Comrade V. Vacirca, publicist and orator, has left the city of Trieste the 13th of this month, bound for New York, who, after a short stay in that city, will come to Chicago to edit our official organ until he becomes acquainted with the American movement; then, he will be engaged as an organizer.

The future is full of promise and the prospects are very bright to our young movement. With a permanent organizer in the field, we are sure that in a year's time we will double the members of our branches and will build up a strong party press, without which we would not be able to accomplish much.

Fraternally submitted,
JOSEPH CORTI,
Translator-Secretary.

REPORT OF POLISH SECTION. TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1912.

My report will be very brief, consisting only of figures, as they are more convincing and reliable.

GENERAL.

Four years ago, in December, 1908, the Polish Section of the Socialist Party was organized, with 23 branches and 400 members. But only a year ago, in April, 1911, the Polish Translator-Secretary's office was established. Therefore, I can give my report only for the period since then.

On December 31, 1911, the Polish Section was composed of 115 branches with a membership of 1,450 in good standing. The total membership was 2,130 members. During the year of 1911 there were 59 new branches organized and 25 branches disbanded. The net gain in the membership for the last year was 105 per cent.

From January 1 to March 31, 1912, there were 17 new branches organized and two dissolved, leaving 130 branches with a membership of 2,000 in good standing. The total membership was 2,460 members.

DUES STAMPS.

My first monthly report of the sale of dues stamps was made for the month of April, 1911, the amount of which was \$31.40, representing 628 members in good standing. The above sum was paid to the National Office and \$25.06 paid to several different state offices, as our branches, all of them, belong to their respective state organizations. Since that time a steady growth can be noticed up to the present time. Each month broke the record for the previous one. In March, 1912, the sale of dues stamps to the Polish branches amounted to \$78.15 paid to the National Office and \$63.07 paid to the State and County offices. This does not include the Polish branches in the States of New Jersey and New York, as the Polish branches in these two states secure their dues stamps directly from the locals, because these state and county organizations compel them to do so for reasons unknown to us. As there are 31 Polish branches in these two states, the Polish section represents altogether 130 branches and 2,000 members in good standing. The total membership is 2,460.

AGITATION AND ORGANIZATION.

During the last year two speakers were in the field, one for five months and the other for three months. Since January 1, 1912, one organizer was in the field for two months and on April 9th another lecturer was sent out on a lecture tour, which will continue until July 8th.

PRESS AND LITERATURE.

The Polish Section publishes one daily paper, "Dziennik Ludowy," and one weekly, "Biezy Bozy." During the year 1911 there was literature sold and distributed to the amount of \$1,285.00.

The above does not include subscriptions secured for our papers.

In conclusion I wish to say that the prospects for the future are bright and in not a very distant time the Polish Section will bring into the Socialist Party a large portion of the Polish people living in this country.

Respectfully submitted,

H. GLUSKI,
Translator-Secretary.

REPORT OF THE POLISH ALLIANCE. To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

Dear Comrades:—Herewith I submit a statistical report of our organization as it stands on April 20, 1912.

Our branches are situated in fourteen states and Canada, as follows:

Connecticut	5
New York	11
New Jersey	16
Pennsylvania	18
Massachusetts	18
Rhode Island	3
Michigan	2
Illinois	6

Ohio	5
Indiana	4
Oregon	1
California	2
Maryland	1
Washington	4
Canada	4
	97

Membership dues paid for:

January	197
February	356
March	763
April	307

Total 1,623
Members in arrears over three months not included.

• Fraternally yours,

(Signed) L. BANKA,
Translator-Secretary.

REPORT OF BOHEMIAN SECTION.

To the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912:

The Bohemian Socialist movement in the United States has been in existence more than fifteen years, but the Bohemian Section was affiliated with the Socialist Party of America as a foreign-speaking organization in December, 1911, and the present translator-secretary took his office on December 13, 1911. At that time the Bohemian Section had 37 branches with a membership of about 800, in ten states.

From December, 1911, to March 31, 1912, seven new branches were organized, and the Bohemian Section had 44 branches in eleven states, with 1,164 members. The Bohemian branches are in the following cities: Chicago, Ill., 13; Baltimore, Md., 1; New Bedford, Mass., 1; St. Louis, Mo., 1; Omaha, Neb., 2; South Omaha, Neb., 2; Elizabeth, N. J., 1; Union Hill, N. J., 1; Buffalo, N. Y., 1; New York, N. Y., 1; Winfield, N. Y., 1; Cleveland, Ohio, 5; Bellaire, 1; Bridgeport, 1; Neffs, 1; Allegheny, Pa., 1; Irwin, 1; Loyallhanna, 1; Mt. Pleasant, 1; North Braddock, 1; Philadelphia, 1; Wilmerding, 1; Taylor Crossing, Va., 1; Manitowoc, Wis., 1; Milwaukee, 1; Racine, 1.

The Bohemian Section resolved by referendum vote that every Bohemian branch has to belong to state and county. No Bohemian branch can buy the party dues stamps unless it pays the dues to the state and county. It is the opinion of the membership of the Bohemian Section that to take in branches and members to the Section which are not affiliated with state and county would be a step backward.

After the very successful tour of Comrade Dr. Francis Soukup from Prague, Bohemia, who was here last year and accomplished very good results, the Bohemian Section decided by referendum vote to get in closer relationship with the Social Democratic Party in Bohemia and get a good organizer every year. Another important step was taken by the establishing of an information bureau for the purpose of warning the Bohemian workmen regarding steamship companies' agents, who are encouraging the emigration and, under false pretenses, are painting the beautiful life in America to get business. Immigrants after coming here are disappointed and are used by patriotic American capitalists to lower the standard of living for the working class. For such Bohemian comrades who are members of the party in the old country and have decided to come to the United States the Bohemian Section established an information bureau to assist them in every possible way and to keep them in the party.

The Bohemian Section owns and controls five papers—one daily and four weeklies. The oldest of them, the weekly "Spravednost" (Justice), has been published since 1900. Eight years ago the Bohemian Section bought property—three lots and two buildings—at 1821-1826 Loomis street, in Chicago, where the printing plant was established.

In 1906 the daily "Spravednost" was started. In addition to newspaper printing, the plant has a modern and well-equipped job printing department. Last year a new press was bought for \$6,500, payable in installments in four years. The daily is not self-supporting at present, and the deficit is paid by collections, profits from different party affairs, such as bazaars, balls, picnics, etc.

In 1908 the Bohemian branches began to publish in Cleveland, Ohio, a weekly paper, "Americké Delnické Listy" (American Workmen's News), to which they added in 1912 another weekly, "Pravo" (The Right). Both papers are printed in Cleveland in their own printing shop. This printing shop also has a job printing department.

In 1911 the Bohemian branch in New York, in co-operation with the Bohemian trade unions, started a weekly paper, "Obrana" (The Defense). In addition to papers, the Bohemian Section is publishing other literature—books, pamphlets, etc. During the year of 1911 the amount received for literature was more than \$1,000.

All the papers are owned direct by the Section, and the Board of Directors of same is elected by referendum vote, only members in good standing having votes.

The Bohemian Section has seven woman branches—two in Chicago, two in Cleveland, one in Omaha, one in South Omaha and one in Baltimore. In organizing women the Section has to face some difficulties in regard to the dues question, as the women are complaining of high dues. The Bohemian Section is awaiting some reform in this question from the convention.

One of the features of the Bohemian Socialist movement is the organizing of gymnastic associations, where both boys and girls are active members. This organization of young people is a recruiting station for Bohemian branches. It takes care of children from six years up for physical development, and when they reach the age of 18 years they become party members. In this way the Bohemian Socialist movement lays a strong foundation for spreading Socialism among the youth. At present the gymnastic associations are in the following cities: Chicago, 5; Cleveland, 3; Dillonvale, O., 1, and North Braddock, Pa., 1. This organization was formed three years ago, and at present has about 1,000 members, both men and women.

Fraternally submitted,

JOSEF NOVAK,
Translator-Secretary.

REPORT OF SCANDINAVIAN SECTION. TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1912.

ORGANIZATION.

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation was organized at a convention held for this purpose in the city of Chicago, July 2, 3, 4, 1910.

At the beginning of the year 1911 the Federation consisted of seven branches with a membership of 216. During the year of 1911 the number of branches increased to 20 with a membership of 784.

and today it has thirty branches with a membership of over 1,000. Outside of the Federation are still a few Scandinavian branches not yet affiliated, mostly on account of technicalities and other hindrances, but it is believed that these obstacles will be overcome in the near future.

Our relation to the national and state organizations has, with a few exceptions, been the very best. The Federation has decided that all its branches shall be affiliated with the state and county organizations, and co-operate with them at all elections and otherwise.

AGITATION.

The work of agitation has been carried on to as large a degree as the resources of the Federation would allow. At the beginning of 1911 we had only one small branch in the East, namely: Kearney Branch No. 3, New Jersey, and for a long time it seemed to be impossible for us to make any headway in that part of the country, mostly on account of the strong S. L. P. movement among the Scandinavians in the East, but the opposition seems now to be broken. The comrades out there have been working hard and steady and today we have eight active branches in the eastern states. We expect that this number shall be more than doubling the result of an extensive organizing tour which Comrade Frithjof Werenskjöld now is making under the direction of our Federation and with the assistance of the National Office.

During the months of November and December, 1911, the National Office routed Comrade E. Sibiakoffsky through the middle states, which resulted in the organization of ten new branches.

In the western states where the Scandinavian population is largest there are at present very few branches of the Federation, but our National Committee has now decided to send Comrade Werenskjöld out there as soon as his work in the East is completed.

Our agitation among women has been neglected until a few months ago, but now the number of women members in our organization is steadily increasing.

PRESS.

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation is publishing two weekly propaganda papers: "The Svenska Socialisten" in the Swedish language and "The Social Demokraten" in the Danish language. These two papers are owned and controlled by the Federation directly. The only certificate that gives a voice and vote in deciding their policy and management is a paid up membership book. Fake advertisements, such as patent medicine, land and mining schemes as well as advertisements from saloons and liquor dealers have never been accepted by these papers, and, in spite of financial difficulties, our members are determined to never compromise on these points. The circulation of the papers has increased rapidly during the last few months, which to a large degree is due to the work of the Lyceum Course. Their present combined circulation is a little over 5,000. If the increase of their circulation continues at the present rate, then they will be self-supporting before the year is gone.

PRESS FUND.

In order to meet the deficit of our papers, the Federation has provided for a press fund. This fund gets its income from special assessments, contributions, picnics, etc.

LITERATURE.

The Federation has established its own literature department, which was begun on February 1, 1912. Several thousand pamphlets have already been published and sold, and we intend to develop this department to such an extent that we shall be able to meet all demands for Socialistic literature in the Scandinavian languages.

INFORMATION BUREAU FOR IMMIGRANTS.

In order to assist the immigrants from the Scandinavian countries, helping them to find work and keep in touch with the American labor movement, etc., we are at present negotiating with the Socialist and other organizations in these countries for the purpose of establishing some kind of co-operation in this direction. We have always urged strongly upon our membership to become citizens in order to acquire their political rights, and in this work we have been very successful.

CONCLUSION.

During the childhood of the Scandinavian Socialist Federation it has been nobly assisted by the Finnish comrades as well as the National Office of the Socialist Party, thus making it possible for the young organization to survive the hardships it had to pass through and to carry on the work it has undertaken to do.

We cannot boast, ourselves, of any great achievement, but we believe that a good solid foundation for the organization has been laid, and if it is allowed to develop unhindered, and in the future will be met with the same good understanding as in the past, then the Scandinavian Socialist Federation will surely be able to fulfill the mission for which it has organized.

By order of The Executive Committee,
Fraternally submitted,
N. JUEL CHRISTENSEN,
Translator-Secretary.

REPORT SUBMITTED IN BEHALF OF THE JEWISH SOCIALIST AGITATION BUREAU.

This foreign-speaking organization is organized on an entirely different basis than any of the other foreign-speaking organizations. The membership is affiliated with the Socialist party, in the respective States and Countries directly, paying the same dues as the English-speaking members of such localities do. The branches of the Bureau are in every respect similar to the ordinary party locals or branches, excepting that they use and speak the Jewish language in their meetings and to a great extent use same in the general propaganda.

Since the last Socialist Congress held in Chicago, 1910, the Bureau has extended its usefulness over thirty States. In the last two years it has organized sixteen new branches which are directly affiliated with the party, taking their places side by side with the English speaking organizations.

While the Bureau is not connected directly with the National Socialist party, as provided for in the National Constitution, the National Executive Committee has helped the Bureau in its work materially, donating sums of money for propaganda purposes, and the National Secretary helping by valuable advice.

A partial report of the work actually done, which we herein submit, will clearly

show the good that can be accomplished by foreign-speaking organizations among the immigrant workers in America.

HALL MEETINGS.

May, 1910—May, 1912.....	320
Average attendance	200
Total attendance	64,000
Leaflets published and sold.....	150,000
Price per 1,000	\$1.50
Total	\$225.00

LEAFLETS DISTRIBUTED BY BUREAU.
Without cost to the branches..... 40,000

BOOKLETS PUBLISHED AND SOLD.

Various Booklets

Various Booklets	15,000
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These booklets were sold in 1911 for prices ranging from \$20.00 to \$35.00 per thousand.

American Government Booklets sold (\$70 per M.)

American Government Booklets sold (\$70 per M.)	4,000
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The American Government Booklet referred to is one that could be easily translated into other languages and would be of invaluable use among immigrant workers of other nationalities.

At the present time the Bureau is in communication with upwards of 80 branches in about thirty States. Besides, it is in communication with hundreds of Branches of the Workman's Circle. It might be added that the Workman's Circle is of great help to this Bureau in its work.

There can hardly be two opinions as to the necessity of foreign-speaking organizations. The comrades of the non-English speaking nations are surely best fitted to carry on the propaganda among their own people. Yet, in some instances, local county organizations have refused to permit the organization of Language Groups.

The Constitution should be amended so as to give foreign comrades speaking foreign languages the right to organize separate branches and to conduct their affairs in the language they know best. At the same time it should be provided that all branches must affiliate with the local movement, in their respective localities, and through these local organizations, with the National party.

J. PANKEN,

Delegate Jewish Socialist Agitation Bureau.

REPORT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NATIONAL LETTISH ORGANIZATION, S. P.

A. MEMBERSHIP.

Our membership is scattered through twelve different States of the Union, some of them are in Canada. It is a tremendous task to keep them together. In 1910 we had 27 clubs with a total membership of 1001; at the present moment we have 26 clubs with 983 good standing members, among them 210 women.

This decrease of membership is due to the fact that the Boston Lettish W. Association withdrew from our organization, as we have stated in our previous report to National Secretary Comrade J. M. Barnes. The B. L. W. A. with its 170 members, has remained, however, in the S. P.

All our members are organized in branches and locals of the S. P., and are directly affiliated both with state and local organizations of the party. They pay regular national, state and local dues.

The vast majority of our members have applied for citizenship, yet few have obtained their second papers.

Last year our rival organization among the Lettish workers, the Lettish Federation

of the S. L. P., split up. Since then about 50 of its members as individuals have joined the S. P., either through our branches or otherwise.

B. FINANCES.

During the two calendar years 1910 and 1911 our members have paid:

1. Dues to the S. P. (national, state and local)	\$3,272.00
2. Dues to our branches for their local agitation	1,097.37
3. Collections and subscriptions for the Lettish Social Democracy in Russia	1,093.35
This includes \$705.47 for the Relief Fund of political prisoners.	
4. Our branches have collected for the Pol. Ref. Defense League on various occasions	244.13

C. REFERENDA.

In 1910 our membership adopted Referendum 1a, requiring that wives of our members not engaged directly in industrial occupations, should be freed from membership dues.

For 265, against 244.

In January, 1911, this rule was reversed by another referendum No. 2 vote, with 463 to 30.

Referendum 1b provides that the Executive Committee of our organization pay the printers of our semi-weekly Strahdneeks sick insurance \$1 a month.

For 279, against 201.

Referendum 2a provides that the accounts and funds of the Executive Committee of our organization should be audited not by the Boston Branch alone, but by three auditors elected by our Boston, New York and Lawrence branches, and that the auditing committee should report its findings in our paper twice a year.

For 273, against 210.

Referendum 2b. That Comrades J. Klawa and J. Tomlin be sent to the Chicago convention of the Socialist party. Vote closed May, 1910. Comrade Klawa elected with 345 votes, and Comrade Tomlin with 234 votes.

Referendum No. 3. Dec. 1910.

ELECTIONS OF NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

In 1911 Referendum No. 1. Election of the editor of our semi-weekly Strahdneeks. In January, 1911, Comrade John G. Ohsol elected with 437 votes.

Referendum No. 3. amended slightly our constitution. Carried in May, with 509 to 9.

Referendum No. 4, providing that the editor of the Strahdneeks be paid full wages (15 dollars a week), also those weeks when, owing to holidays, only one issue of our paper is published, was rejected with 245 to 217. In September, 1911.

Referendum No. 5a provides that 45 days time be granted for the discussion of proposed referenda instead of 30. Carried in September, 1911, with 400 to 65.

Referendum No. 5b provides that our Executive Committee elections should be changed so as to make the committee serve for one year from April 1 to March 31, instead of the calendar year. Carried with 461 to 13.

Referendum No. 6. Election of the editor of the Strahdneeks for the year 1912. Elected Comrade John G. Ohsol with 437 votes.

D. AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA.

The chief business of the Executive Committee of our organization is the publish-

ing of the Strahdneeks, which is a 4-page semi-weekly (21x31 inches), and is being printed at Fitchburg, Mass. Since October, 1911, once every two weeks it has a literary supplement. The number of its subscribers varies between 1200-1500, the price is \$3.00 per year. We employ two printers, two editors and one mailing clerk.

Besides the subscriptions we have received towards the sustenance of the paper:

1. Special dues from our members, 15 cents per capita per month, in 1910	\$1,378.76
1911	1,475.90
2. Donations:	
1910	250.00
1911	422.15
3. From advertisements:	
1910	600.00
1911	800.00

This paper is our chief propaganda and organizing medium. In fact it is the only means of keeping our members together. We are positively sure that the interest of our members in the English Socialist press is constantly increasing, as is witnessed by the discussions of our members in the "Strahdneeks," on party tactics, and in the Haywood-Hillquit controversy, on law and order, and on our party attitude towards trade unions.

On January 1, 1912, there were 7 propaganda circles in our various branches with a total membership of 105. During the year 1911 those circles had 31 propaganda meetings.

Large agitation meetings are being held by our Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco branches, every year on October 30th (in memoriam of the October Manifesto in Russia, 1905), on January 22nd (Red Sunday memorial) and in March (Commune memorial). Needless to add that our branches everywhere are taking active and energetic part in all propaganda and agitation work carried on by the English speaking locals of the party. Our members responded liberally to the McNamara defense fund, toward the support of the Lawrence strikers, etc.

Our Socialist book agency, now located at Fitchburg, Mass., has been in business since 1907. Its object is to supply our members as cheaply as possible with Socialist literature in Russian, Lettish, German and English. At the present moment the total value of our book supply, both at Fitchburg and at the branches, is \$1,810.70, while in 1910 it was \$1,429.19. During the last three years (1910, 1911, 1912) we have published a fairly good sized (7x10 in. 96-112 pages) Socialist Almanach, 1500-2000 copies. We hope to continue this line of work and may possibly publish some pamphlets also.

Some of our branches (Boston Lettish No. 2, New York Chicago, Philadelphia) occasionally circulate special agitation leaflets.

One of the chief duties of our organization has been to introduce our members to the S. P. so as to make them permanent and active workers within the English speaking body of our party. To that end the Eastern Coast Agitation Bureau was formed by the end of 1909, comprising our ten branches in Massachusetts (Boston, Lawrence, Beverly), New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, with 536 members.

We hope to form a similar agitation bureau around Chicago before long. We have instructed our lecturer, Comrade J. G. Ohsol, to help organize such a bureau on his present lecturing trip in Chicago, Aurora, St. Louis, Cleveland and Minneapolis. These five branches have a membership of 264.

Our Eastern Coast Agitation Bureau has arranged the following agitation trips:

1. Spring, 1910, by Comrade J. Klawa, who lectured on:

- (1) Darwinism.
- (2) Woman's suffrage.
- (3) Materialistic interpretation of history.

2. September, 1910, by Comrade John G. Ohsol, who lectured on:

- (1) New currents in the American trade unions.
- (2) The minimum wage.
- (3) The Constitution of the U. S. v. the working class.

3. February, 1911, by Comrade K. Janson, whose topics were:

- (1) Co-operatives.
- (2) Intellectuals and Socialism.
- (3) Socialist attitude towards general strike.

4. May, 1911, by Comrade G. Bernhard, on:

- (1) American literature.
- (2) Development of Capitalism in the U. S.

5. In September, 1911, by Comrade R. Hansen, on:

- (1) Russian politics.
- (2) Socialist tactics in municipalities.
- (3) Social growth and natural growth.

6. In February, 1912, by Comrade Sierin, on:

- (1) The Chinese revolution.
- (2) S. P. attitude towards trade unions.
- (3) Darwinism and Socialism.
- (4) Significance of Art in Life.
- (5) Materialistic interpretation of history.

Each agitation trip, including two weeks' wages (\$12.00 each) for the lecturer, has cost the bureau about \$60.00.

On December 24th and 25th, 1911, the Agitation Bureau called a conference in New York city, where among several technical details of organization and propaganda work, also some resolutions on general questions were adopted.

As the conference was merely a deliberative body, these resolutions were nothing but suggestions to our branches. All those resolutions were taken up by the branches, discussed at their meetings and in the Strahdneeks, and subsequently adopted as recommendations to our party institutions, subject to their consideration and approval.

We quote these resolutions here:

ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE S. P. TOWARDS THE TRADE UNIONS.

1. Whereas, For the complete emancipation of the working class from its intellectual, political and economic bondage, both the political and the economic struggle are equally necessary, and as for the successful conduct of this struggle in nearly all countries permanent relations between economic organizations of the workers and Socialist parties have been established.

2. Whereas, In the United States the existing relations between the S. P. and the trade unions are very weak and sporadic.

3. Whereas, The activities of the S. P. members among the trade unions are unsuccessful as long as those activities are not co-ordinated and led by the party institutions.

4. Whereas, The members of the S. P. often have turned over without fight, the responsible posts in the trade unions to the agents of the Civic Federation and to other opponents of class struggle, who are tying up the trade unions with capitalist

politics and are resisting the spread of Socialism among the organized proletariat.

5. Whereas, The trade unions, in denying the existence of class struggle, are upholding among their rank and file the craft spirit, which splits up the economic struggle, leads to civil strife among the craft organizations and to many lost battles of labor.

6. Whereas, Such lost battles have forced some members of the trade unions to resort to desperate means (McNamara case) which, in the first place are a demoralizing influence upon labor organizations, and second, are helping along the crusade of the capitalist organization and the government against the proletariat.

We suggest:

1. That all members of the S. P. join their respective trade unions.

2. That the members of the S. P. in each trade union come to a better understanding among each other that under the guidance of the responsible party authorities they should be able more successfully to explain from the Socialist point of view all issues resulting from the economic struggle, and thus educate the members of the trade unions to a better understanding of the class struggle.

3. That the members of the S. P. nominate their own candidates for responsible offices in the trade unions, especially in the referendum elections and in conventions.

4. That our comrades strive towards uniting the various mutually independent economic organizations which are acting in one and the same establishment, in one and the same industry or on the same territory into such centralized bodies of economic organizations as in each given case the solidarity of all workers in the class struggle requires.

5. That the central institution of the S. P. have to take care of establishing relations with the central bodies of the unions both during periods of great economic and political battles, and during the regular parliamentary struggle for labor legislation with the ultimate end in view that permanent organized relations between both militant bodies of organized proletariat be secured.

RESOLUTION ON PARTY CENTRAL ORGAN.

1. Whereas, The central organ is one of the most necessary means of securing the party unity in its intellectual leadership, as well as in its organization.

2. Whereas, The lack of such an organ has led the S. P. to confusion in theory and practice (organization), as witnessed by:

(a) The Arizona and Missouri controversies.

(b) The syndicalist theories preached in the International Socialist Review, by the campaign of slander against party institutions and party officials, carried on in the Christian Socialist, Provoker and the Militant.

(c) By the sudden change of the party program in regard to our agrarian policy.

(d) By the too frequent and haphazard referenda about the change of our party constitution.

3. Whereas, Nearly all Socialist papers are at the present time private concerns, which require large sacrifices from individual members as well as from party institutions, but do not feel obliged to stand up for the interests of the party as a whole in many important questions.

4. Whereas, The party, owing to the absence of a central organ, is unable to take a definite stand on many important political

issues and questions of tactics, because the resolutions of the National Executive Committee often give only technical hints.

5. Whereas, The present Party Bulletin, owing to its limited and dry material, can not replace a party organ.

Be it resolved:

1. That a national referendum vote be taken in order to change immediately the respective sections of our national constitution so as to empower the National Executive to establish a central organ.

2. That the National Executive take immediately the necessary preliminary steps toward the creation of such an organ (gathering of necessary funds, etc.).

3. That the National Executive Committee submit a detailed project on the publication of a central organ to the coming National Convention.

RESOLUTION ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION.

The Conference finds:

1. That the plank demanding the Socialization of all land, which was stricken out by a national referendum of the S. P. be reinstated into the platform of the party.

2. That we should strongly reject any attempt of the S. P. to voice the interests of the farmers or some other non-proletarian social group on points not identical with those of the working class, no matter whether this be done by putting up compromising demands or by using compromising tactics.

Comment:—Some people think that the change from private or corporate ownership of land to common ownership under the present capitalistic organization of society necessarily involves socialization of land.

In fact this demand aims only to do away with speculation in land rents and proposes to pass over the rent from private land owners and corporations to social institutions. This may be realized either through nationalization of land or through municipal ownership of land. In the first case the whole nation takes over the land and manages it through its representatives; in the second case states, towns or municipalities become land owners. In any case this measure does away with the land owning class, under whose grip whole nations are suffering at the present moment.

At the S. P. Congress at Chicago, 1910, the farmers' committee and some speakers opposed the socialization of land, because they confused the issue. They stated that it was the duty of the Socialist party to support the farmers as a subjugated social group. The support of the farmers, however, means the defense of their private ownership and artificial maintenance of their small households which can not stand the competition of the large ones. The farmers' committee draws no line just where such support should cease.

In the first place, this is not the duty of the S. P. since it is the party of the working class and not a farmers' party. In the second place such aim is a utopia which can never be realized. The farmers' committee at the Chicago Congress formulated not the demands of farm laborers, but those of the farmers. The so-called problems of rural development, the irrigation of farm lands, insurance of live stock, improvements, etc., are entirely out of place in a Socialist congress. Farmers' societies or agricultural development companies have to deal with those problems. We have to be on the lookout that our party should not be tied up with the demands of an economically decaying class of small bourgeoisie.

RESOLUTION ON OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CHURCH.

The conference finds:

1. That our members ought to be enlightened about the evolution of the universe, development of mankind, and other important matters of natural science in order that any kind of superstition may be eliminated from amidst our ranks.

2. That the church and its teachings should be directly opposed where it tries to take a hand in the class struggle with attempt to bridge over the class conflict, that is:

(a) We should oppose the teaching of religion in the schools in any masked or unmasked form, since it is calculated to cultivate the spirit of serfdom among the young generation.

(b) We should oppose the mixing of religious questions into the economic strife, in the strikes, in the trade unions, at their conventions, etc.

(c) We should denounce the reactionary conduct of the servants of the church, of the Catholic bishops, of the priests of the Civic Federation, and other Socialist eaters, who are opposed to the democratization of our political institutions, who are fighting against the initiative, referendum, recall, against women's suffrage and other urgent and timely reforms.

3. The conference advises the members of the party to abstain from any anti-religious agitation within the parishes or similar religious bodies.

Comment:—It is not our task to investigate the evolution of religious views. All we have got to state is how to carry out the plank of our party program, which requests that religion be private affair of the individual.

While large masses of the people are in complete ignorance about the most elementary parts of natural science, it is an easy task for the church to beguile the workers and to make them intellectual cripples. Once they have become such, they gladly accept the spiritual crutches extended to them by the servants of the church and thus religious beliefs gradually become a public concern, a social necessity.

In order to put a check upon the deadly influence of the teachings of the church upon men's minds, it is necessary to disseminate knowledge about nature—a task which has been entirely neglected in this country. In destroying man's superstition about nature we take away one of the foundations on which every religion rests.

The complexity and the uncertainty of our social life under capitalism breeds timidity of intellect, it furthers fatalism, which is another pillar of the church. Man has ceased to be the ruler of his destiny under capitalism. To be sure there are a few gods among men, whose purses control the destinies of millions of toilers.

Science is the best antidote against religion. Where science comes in, beliefs and creeds must give way. Instead of belief and faith we put conviction, based on freedom of conscience. Freedom of conscience is broader than freedom of belief. It includes both freedom of belief and freedom of non-belief. A man can believe what he will. He may not believe anything. Similarly, freedom of speech includes both the right to speak and the right to keep silent. Freedom of assemblage includes freedom to stay from meetings which you do not approve. Some members of the party (Comrade Shier in the S. P. Bulletin) seem to have confused notions about the task of the Social Democracy. They do not yet realize that Social Democracy has not

undertaken to defend any religion, not even the Christian faith. Scientific Socialism can not be Christian or pagan, just as there is no Jewish arithmetic or Catholic astronomy.

The ethics of socialism and religion are directly opposed to each other. Christianity preaches brotherly love for all, Socialism discriminates among social classes. It preaches the class struggle among those whose interests are opposed. It does not create the class war, but it does explain it, while the church tries to conceal it. Socialism maintains that through class struggle the workers will eventually win and do away with class differences. Socialism bases all its ideals on this "sinful world;" the church can not help preaching about some other world. Socialism condemns what hurts the working class, it commends what helps to improve the conditions of the working class. The church puts its stamp of approval (good) or disapproval (bad) according to some superhuman ethics, dictated by being unknown to mankind.

The church tries to organize strikers according to their creeds, as was seen in the recent Illinois Central Railroad strike. Thus the class solidarity of the workers is impaired and their enemies triumph. The dragging in of the Carpenter of Nazareth into discussions at trade unions conventions is a silly attempt to distract the worker's attention from the main issues. The "Militia of Christ" has become an active enemy of the workers and is helping the state militia to crush the strikers. The role of the church as a strike-breaking agency should be made plain to the workers.

It is true, that the church is struggling hard to save its vanishing power. It promises the workers to help them. We should refuse such a help. In a land where the organization of political parties and the participation in political action is free to everybody, we can not recognize any intermediaries for the attainment of our political ends.

Party members should not tolerate any political censure of their churches over their political action, and they should withdraw from such religious bodies who are opposing the decisions of our party.

Our party should not waste any time or money on anti-religious agitation within the church organizations. Where religion has really become a private affair, there is no need for our agitation. As long as the gods remain confined to their temples, they can cause no direct harm to the class struggle.

RESOLUTION ON THE S. P. TACTICS IN THE LEGISLATURES AND EXECUTIVE INSTITUTIONS.

I.

1. Whereas, The demands of the working class can best be realized and defended, when the possibly largest masses of the population are involved in the struggle for those demands.

2. Whereas, The employers in different states of the union are refusing to comply with the demands of the workers on the ground that progressive labor legislation,

restricting the exploitation of workers, will make them unable to compete with employers in similar industries in other states; such motives are often endorsed by the people and are a stumbling block against necessary labor legislation.

3. Whereas, The centralized class struggle of the proletariat needs a broader basis in order to facilitate the conquest of the central political powers in the U. S. for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

We declare:

1. That all legislation having any bearing upon the people of the United States as a whole, should be concentrated in the Congress at Washington, while at the same time the state legislatures and other legislative bodies should be made use of.

2. That it is unbecoming to reserve the right to sign the petitions of the S. P. solely to the citizens of the United States, since a large portion of the workers of the United States are not yet citizens.

3. That such petitions in places where there are already representatives of the S. P. should be presented only through those representatives.

II.

Whereas, The experiences of the proletariat in the class struggle up to the present time have demonstrated:

1. That any success in the labor legislation is directly dependent upon the organized power of the masses.

2. That the elections, generally speaking, are helpful to the organization work of the Social Democracy, but that the parliamentary struggle in a more restricted sense, is chiefly a means of agitation.

3. That the activities of representatives of the S. P. in legislatures are only one part of our party action, and that only the respective central institutions of the party can successfully co-ordinate and lead this action.

4. That in all cases the action of the S. P. representatives in those institutions fails, if it is not backed up by political action of the workers outside the legislatures.

We regard as indispensable:

1. That all steps of the representatives of our party in the said institutions, except in unforeseen cases, be taken in full accord with the decisions of the party.

2. That the leading institutions of the S. P. have to use all means in order to back up each important measure of the working class by mass action; by meetings, demonstrations, petitions and similar means.

3. That all S. P. factions in the legislatures have to use their positions in the interest of the revolutionary agitation of the S. P. in presenting its demands uncompromisingly and in criticizing unreservedly the measures of the bourgeois parties and the government.

4. That any attempt of the representatives of the bourgeois parties to propagate their measures through compromising bills and through surrender of the workers' demands be condemned as being opportunistic and harmful to the class struggle.

SECRETARY C. KARKLIN,
6 Chestnut Ter., Boston, Mass.

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